A brief account of the history and antiquities of Lahore

Ancient Lahore

Written under the instructions of
Sir Robert Montgomery
in 1860

Preface: **Dr. Anis Nagi**

GAUTAM
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27-Temple Road, Lahore. Tel: (042) 6364614

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GAUTAM NOTE

Like Liqour and unlike women, higher the age of a manuscript, bigger the value of that writing. Although, it is also true that some women become more shinning and a few kinds of whisky drops its concentration after passing long passage of time. Same is the case with books. The book in hand has preserved its intoxicating effect and fame even after 134 years. We give it the name of Ancient Lahore. The original name of this document is "A brief account of the history and antiquities of Lahore." The preface carries the date 16 Oct., 1860.

By publishing this historical document we put forward our programme of giving chance to the students to re read original manuscripts of the past.

We are thankful to Dr. Anis Nagi for giving this document to us for printing. We hope that people who have access to such old documents will help us in rediscovering original manuscripts for reprinting. At the end, some words for Lahori (chacha) for writing not only flap of this book but also introducing this document in his columns continuously for three Fridays before the publishing of this book.

Aamir Riaz
Gautam Publishers
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PREFACE

The colonial strategy of the British Imperial power was more deep rooted than the other western colonial powers who crossed many oceans to find lucrative colonial pockets in Asian regions. Wherever the British went they not only restructured the administrative system of the subjugated colonies but also created centres of learning and research in form of schools, colleges, institutes etc. One may be shocked to learn that the first Urdu grammer and dictionary was compiled by Dr. Gilchrist, Principal Fort William College, Calcutta. Urdu type composition and press were also installed by the British Administration. The British are known as a "nation of clerks" for making up record and files and formulating rules and regulations. Beside this, the curiosity of the westerns in this exotic land also motivated them to record their observations for the benefit of their country men. The early books of travel written by the European and British travellers such as Sir Thomas Rao, Manucci Berneir, Edward Terry, William Finch etc. provide modern readers with sufficient details of socio-cultural life between fifteen to eighteen centuries. The local chronicles seldom furnish such details compelling the modern readers to rely on the western version of our cultural history.

The British ICS officers were not merely stiff necked bureaucrats who were to rule and educate the Natives; they also wrote, compiled and sponsored the publication of books like Punjab Castes, Biography Oriental, Punjab Chiefs, Punjab Folk Tales and district gazetters.

The present book was written in 1860, and eight years later it was published by the Government of Punjab. The author hasitated to publish his name on the book which was written on the request of Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant Governor, Punjab (1859-1865). Reasons are not known as to why the publication of the book was delayed for about eight years. It can safed be assumed that "The history and antiques of Lahore", was the first consistent and well planned book giving the account of the city, its architecture and history. All subsequent books on Lahore, such as that of Khaniya Lal, S.M. Latif etc., more or less followed the plan of the present book without any acknowledgement. From the historiographic point of view, the book, though slender in volume, remains to be a pioneer work in writing the biography of a city. In narrating the historical events which took place at Lahore, the author has also reflected the growth of education, culture, architecture etc. supporting his version from the local source whenever available. The book spells out various versions on the foundation of Lahore and ends up with the brief account of the Sikh rule in Punjab. The derivation of word Lahore and account of its foundation were literaly picked up by the subsequent historians of Lahore.

Lahore was never a elegant city, though very often praised by the Western tourist in a hyperbolic manner. As compared to Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Lahore was a provincial town and its foreign rulers were never tempted to improve the living conditions of Lahore which was devasted for almost seventeen times. Due to its geographical situation, Lahore had a strategic position for all the invaders who entered the Sub-Continent via Iran or Afghanistan. Under the Ghaznivis, it remained the capital for some time and was nucleus of political activities during fifty years of Sikh Raj in Punjab. In spite of the hectic political activity and warfare in the central and southern India, the Mughals never lost the sight of Lahore and erected majestic edifices in and around the city. Badshai mosque, Tomb of Jhangir and Shalamar Bagh at Lahore are no less in granger than those edifices at Dehli and Agra.

Lahore was infact a camping station for the rulers who posted their Subedars to administer Suba Lahore. They used to be army generals without any administrative experience. The political instability, intrigues and tribal feuds led to the quick removal of the Subedars. This state of uncertainty never permitted the rulers to plan the city of Lahore whcih had a mushroom growth of houses and lanes in an outside the four walls of the city. Therefore, lack of continuity, frequent devastations of Lahore never allowed Lahorites to develop a cultural ethos. The migration of diverse ethenic groups to Lahore and their social interaction resulted in a hetrogenus culture. The narrow lanes, absence of sewerage and poorly ventilated double storyed houses, datiing back to the Mughal period (Kucha Chabuk Sawaran) are still reminiscent of the old Lahore. There is a general supposition that Lahore was confined to the walled city, but there are many historical accounts which indicate that prior to the Mughal period, the village Ichra was the real Lahore. Subsequently, Malik Ayaz founded the present city of Lahore and Akbar raised the massive walls around the city. The author of the present book was a witness to the dilapidated city with heaps of rubble and debris between Civil Station (present Civil Secretariat) and Ichra and his vision is corrobrated by Jacqument, French botantist who stayed at Lahore in 1824. This confirms the assumption that Lahore was not confined to the walled city and it extended beyond the ramparts.

In a way, Lahore is a Mughal city and no notable edifice, prior to Mughals, exists in the history of Lahore. During the last decade of nineteen century, the social historian presaged rapid decay of Lahore, therefore they recorded the status of old Lahore time. Ironically, in the last decade of this century, when Lahore is hastily adopting the commercial culture of consumer society, about half a dozen of books on the biography of Lahore have been published, this may be either due to nostalgia for the past or to preserve the last vestige of the old Lahore.

Dr. Anis Nagi
May 1994

PREFACE OF FIRST EDITION

The following brief account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore has been drawn up at the request of Hon'ble Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., and it is hoped will be useful to those who have no time or opportunity to collect the information for themselves.

Apart from its connection with the stirring events of the last twelve years, Lahore is a city which must be interesting to the students of the History and Architecture of India. Situated on the high road from Afghanistan, it has been visited by every Western invader, from Alexander to Shah Zeman; it was the focus of the first struggles between Hinduism and Mahommedanism, and the centre of a confederation which for upwards of two centuries successfully withstood the progress of Islam; it was for years the capital of the Ghaznevides, and for a time of the Moghul Emperors; the place of Arjun's martyrdom and of Ranjit Singh's rise. Historians and Poets of the East and of the West has united in the praise of its size and splendour. Abdulfeda, in the fourteenth century, had read of it in the pages of Ibn Alatir as "a city great among the cities of India". Abdul Fazl, in the sixteenth, describes it as the "grand resort of people of all nations". "If Shiraz and Ispahan", says an old local proverb, "were united, they would not make one Lahore". The traveller Thevenot, who saw it in A.D. 1665, the period of its decline, states that a short time before his visit the city with its suburbs covered an area of three leagues in length. Bernier notes the magnificence of its place, the length of its streets, and the height of the houses as compared with those at Agra or at Delhi. Our own Milton places Lahore among the

> "Cities of old or modern fame, the seat of mightiest empires,"

which met the eyes of the repentant Adam from the hill of Paradise;* and Moore has built up amid the "palaces, domes and gilded minarets" of Lahore a city of enchantment sacred to the loves of Lalla Rookh and Feramorz.1

Modern Lahore, it is true, far from realises the glowing description given above. In size and populousness it is far inferior to Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, and even to Amritsar. The circuit of its walls does not exceed three miles, and its population, at the last census, was given about 90,000. The streets are narrow and wormlike and the general aspect of the city, with the exception of its northern front, is neither imposing nor picturesque. But a closer acquaintance with the city and its environs will tend considerably to modify the first impression and give some colour to the extravagant description given above. That Lahore formerly covered a far larger area than it does at present is at once apparent from the number and extent of the ruins which cover the face of surrounding country. From the city walls to Shalimar, Meean Meer and Ichhra—a circle with a radius of some three or four miles, the ground is strewn with debris interspersed with crumbling mosques, tombs, gateways and gigantic mounds. Some conception of the extent of Lahore in its palmier days, as compared with its present state, may be formed with the fact, that of thirty-six guzars or quarters into which Lahore is known to have been divided, only nine are included within the area of modern city; but a more vivid picture of the desolation which is passed over Lahore will be obtained by a view of the surrounding country from a minaret of the Imperial Mosque or of the Mosque of Wazir Khan. Some have supposed that the actual city, that is, the inhabited portion of Lahore, never extended beyond its present limits, and that the mass of debris which everywhere meets the eye is composed entirely of the remains of tombs and garden walls. This supposition may be proved to be erroneous, not only by the evidence of eye witnesses, Native and European, such as Bernier, Tavernier and Thevenot, but also from the existence, among the debris, of numerous small wells, such as are constructed in the private dwelling houses of a closely picked city; from the position of the large ruined mosque on the right hand side of the Amritsar road, known as the Idgah, or place of assembly upon Mahommedan feast-days. These buildings are almost always erected in the immediate outskirts of a town; it may be inferred, therefore, that when this mosque was built the city extended as far as its immediate vicinity; but the city is now nearly three miles off, and the building has long ceased to be the rendezvous of the faithfuls on their holy days. Again, we have a casual notice, in a Mahommedan writer of Akbar's time, of a certain guzar or quarter, which is now desolate and upwards of a mile from the city, as being the most populous quarter of Lahore; and, lastly, we have the analogy of other Eastern cities, such as Kabur, Tabriz or Ispahan, where the suburbs, that is the portion of city beyond the walls, are far the most extensive and important parts of town. Upon the whole, it may be considered probable that in its best days, that is during the reign of Shahjehan, the city must have had a circuit of some sixteen or seventeen miles. The portion of the city outside the walls probably consisted of numerous thickly inhabited spots connected with the city gates by long bazars. The intervals between these different quarters were filled up with tombs, gardens, and mosques, whose remains now form a conspicuous feature in the aspect of the environs of Lahore. The Mori Mahall or "Regent Street" of old Lahore is said to have been in the vicinity of the site of the present Civil Station, and to this day coins and remains of jewellery are occasionally picked up in that locality after heavy rains.

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* "from the destined walls of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can, And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne' To Paquin of sinaean Kings; and thence, to Agra and Lahore of Great Moghul".
Paradise Lost, Bk. xi., 1.387 - 341

1. They had now arrived at the splendid city of Lahore, whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless, where death appeared to share equal honours with Heaven, would have powerfully affected the heart and imagination of Lalla Rookh, if feelings more of this earth had not taken entire possession of her already.

The Rajas and Omras in her train, who had kept at a certain distance during the journey, and never encamped nearer to the Princess than was strictly necessary for her safeguard, here rode in splendid cavalcade through the city, and distributed the most costly presents to the crowd. Engines were worked in all the squares, which cast forth showers of confectionary among the people, while the artisans, in chariots adorned with tinsel. Such brilliant displays of life and pageantry among the places and domes and gilded minare of Lahore, made the city altogether like a place of enchantment"...... Lalla Rookh.

It is easier to form an idea of the size and extent of the old city of Lahore than of its magnificence. Few cities have suffered more from desolating hordes and from anarchy than Lahore during the last one hundred and twenty years. Eight times did the troops of Ahmad Shah Durani pass through Lahore; Marattas and Sikhs have done their work of

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destruction, and the buildings, being, for the most part, built of brick, have perished and are perishing rapidly from mere exposure. But it is pretty certain, from the accounts we possess and from the absence of any but insignificant specimens of Hindu and Pathan remains, that, until the period of the Moghul dynasty, the city had no architectural pretensions; on the other hand, in the number and importance of its tombs, the profuse use of glazed tiles and enamelled frescos as an architectural decoration, the recurrence of the bulb like dome and semi-domed gateway, we have all the characteristics of the Moghul or what may be termed the florid style of Indo-Mahommedan architecture, standing perhaps in a similar relation to the Pathan to that which the decorated style of English architecture bears to that termed semi-Norman. As far as can be judged from existing remains, Lahore can never have equalled Delhi in its public buildings, through the superior size of its private edifices would indicate the existence of more private wealth. Still, in the Tomb of Jehangir, the Palace of that Prince and of his successor Shahjehan, the Mosque of Wazir Khan, the Pearl Mosque, the Gardens of Shalimar, and the Badshahi or Imperial Mosque of Aurungzib, will be found no mean specimens of architecture; and on its north-eastern side, where the Mosque of Aurungzib, with its plain white domes of marble and tall unadorned minars, the Mausoleum of Ranjit Singh, with its curvilinear roof, projecting balconies and details, half Mahommedan, half Hindu, and lastly, the once brilliantly enamelled front of the Palace of Moghuls stand side by side, overlooking a broad and grassy plain,---- Lahore can even now, show an architectural coup d'aeil worthy of an imperial city; and could we but imagine the same palace front, undisfigured by Sikh and English additions; with its coloured frescos fresh and vivid, the river flowing at its base, and eastward, as far as the eye could reach, a massive quay of masonry, with lights of steps at intervals

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and gardens extending to the water's edge, the now deserted suburbs filled with a thriving population and interspersed with tombs and baradaris rising amid luxuriant gardens, whose gates glittered with many coloured porcelain, we should form a conception of what we have reason to believe Lahore really was in the period of its prime.

Before proceeding to give a historical account of the city, it may be as well to say a few words respecting the available sources of information. These, it is to be regretted, are few and unsatisfactory. What we know of its pre-Mahommedan history is confined to the casual notices contained in the annals of the neighbouring States of Rajputanah and Kashmir, to the glimpses afforded by earlier Mahommedan writers, and to inferences drawn from numismatic evidence. For the period subsequent to the Mahommedan invasion we have, certainly, a connected history to guide us, but the annalists seldom deal in facts of a locally interesting character. The general histories of India, such as those of Ferishta, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Abdul Qadir, the `Tarik-i-Alfi,' the `Iqbalnamah Jehangiri,' & c., are little more than a chronicle of wards, court intrigues and murders, and seldom descent to local details; and those of a more local character, such as the work of Abdul Hamid Lahori, the `Safina-tul-Auliya,' and the records of the numerous Mahommedan shrines, seem to have been compiled upon the principle of omitting all that is interesting and recording all that is not. Local legends there are, but, for the most part of so extravagant a character as to be neither instructive nor amusing; the people, moreover, are careless of their own history, and the sarcastic remark of Petrarch regarding Rome in the fourteenth century—"Nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Roma"—is applicable with still greater force to Lahore in the ninth.

Under these circumstances the task becomes a very difficult one. Still the Compiler is sensible that he has not done justice to his subject; but if he succeeds in awakening interest and stimulating further antiquarian research, his object will have been attained.

Lahore, October 16th, 1860.

The Compiler's acknowledgements are due to Mr. H. Cope, of Amritsar, and also to several native Gentlemen, especially Diwan Amr Nath, Syud Jemal-ud-din and Pandit Matsudin, for the assistance they have rendered him in the preparation of this Memoir.

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ANTIQUITY OF LAHORE

There can be do doubt that Lahore was founded and rose to be a place of importance long before the period of the Mahommedan invasions of India. Its connection with the earlier cycle of Puranic legends, the testimony of the Rajputanah chronicles and of the annals of Kashmir, and lastly the coins still discovered among the ruins in the vicinity of the present city, sufficiently prove this.

DATE OF ITS FOUNDATION

The exact date of its foundation it is, as may be supposed, impossible to discover, but we may make an approximate guess at the period of its rise to importance from the following considerations.

In the first place, there is no mention of Lahore, nor of any city with which it may be fairly identified, in the writings of the Greek historians of the expedition of Alexander to the East. Burnes would identify it with Sangala,[1] a city mentioned by Arrian as the stronghold of the Kathoei or Katheri, who occupied the region in which Lahore is situated. But the position of Sangala, three marches from the Ravi would appear fatal to such a supposition. Yet there can be no doubt that Alexander embarked upon the Ravi in the vicinity of Lahore, and must in all probability have passed the site of the modern city. If, therefore, any place of importance had existed at that time, it would in all probability have been mentioned. It may be assumed, therefore, that Lahore, if it existed, was a place of no importance at the period of the invasion of Alexander.

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[1] The identification of this place is a bone of contention among Panjabi antiquaries. Wilford would identify it with Kilanore; Masson with Haripa; Cunningham with Chek, the old town which stood on the site of the modern Amritsar.

On the other hand, from the number of coins of the Menander dynasty of Indo-Bactrian kings discovered among its ruins, it would appear that Lahore was a place of importance at that period.

It may be inferred, therefore, that Lahore was founded or rose to importance some time between the fourth and second centuries B.C.

BY WHOM FOUNDED

From the name of the city itself, from Hindu tradition concerning its foundation, from the testimony of the Rajputanah annals, and the statements of Mahommedan writers, it would appear that Lahore was essentially a Rajput city.

DERIVATION OF ITS NAME

Its name appears in Mahommedan writers under the varied forms of Lahor, Lohor, Loher, Lohawar, Lehawar, Luhawar and Laha-nur[2] In the chronicles of Rajputanah it is mentioned under the name of Loh-Kot, and in the Deshv Bhag, a compilation from the Puranas, drawn up by order of the erudite Raja Jye Singh Siwae, of Jyepore, it is called Lavpor. The form Laha-nur is probably a Mahommedan corruption, and occurs only, as far as I am aware, in the writings of Amir Khosru, the bard of Delhi; [3]Lohawar is the oldest and probably the most correct form of the name, as it is the form under which it appears in the writings of Abu Rihan al Baruni, a contemporary and companion of the Emperor Mahmud of Ghazni, and one who is known to have been wellversed in the literature of the Hindus. The termination awar is, no doubt, a corruption of colloquial Sanskrit awara, meaning a fort or enclosure, which is found as a termination in the names of many other Rajput

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2. An anonymous writer in the Annual Register for 1809 states that he was told at Lahore that the former name of the city was Ella-nur, but I can find no written authority for this.

3. Since writing the above, I have found another instance of this form Laha-nur in the records of a Mahommedan shrine founded in the name of Bohlol Khan Lodi.

cities as, for instance, Peshawar, [4] Rajawar, commonly called Rajore, and Sonawar, and may still be traced in the Maratta term awar, a court-yard, and the Hindi and Punjabi bar or vara, a cattle-pen or fence. Lohawar, therefore, must signify the "Fort of Loh," [5] and the name will thus correspond in signification with the Loh-kot of the Rajputanah chronicles.

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4. The derivation of the first syllable of this word has given rise to considerable discussion. Some of the more sanguine affirm that it is a corruption of the name of Porus of antiquity. Others who profess to take a "common sense" view of the subject would regard the first syllable as identical with the Persian pesh and hold that Peshawar means nothing more than "advanced fort" or "frontier post". Against the "common sense" view of the subject there are unfortunately one or two fatal objections. In the first place, the derivation of Peshawar from pesh, in front, involves the combination of Persian and Sanskrit root; in the next place it is to be remembered that by all early writers the name is written Persh-awar or Parash-awar, not Pesh-awar; and, further, the name appears in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, who visited the Punjab in the 7th Century A.D., under the form PU-LUSHA-PU-LO, which is nothing more than Chinese rendering of Purushpur; 1 being invariably substituted for 4 by the Chinese.

5. In like manner Kussoor is resolvable into Kush-awar, or Fort of Kush; Kush being the name of brother of Lav.

LOCAL HINDU TRADITION REGARDING THE FOUNDATION OF LAHORE

According to Hindu local tradition, Lahore was founded by Lav or Loh, the son of Rama, and puja is still done to Sita, Rama's wife, as mother of Lav, the founder of Lahore. In other words, its founders were Rajputs of the Solar race.

This local tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the Mewar annals. According to them, the founder of the royal line of Mewar was, Keneksen, a Solar Rajput Prince, who migrated from Lahore about A.D. 144. Moreover, the Solankhi tribe of Anulhara Pattan and the Bhattis of Jessalmer, whose name is still borne by one of the city gateways, point to Lahore as the seat of their earlier location. Further, we have the testimony of Mahommedan Historians that, at the period of the Mahommedan conquest, Lahore was in the possession of a Rajput Prince.

MAHOMMEDAN LOCAL TRADITION

On the other hand, there is a Mahommedan tradition that the present city and fortress of Lahore were founded by Mallik Ayaz, the friend and counsellor of Mahmud of Ghazni, and his tomb by the Taksali Gate is still revered by Mussulman as the burial place of the "Cekist" of Lahore.

*

HOW RECONCILABLE

These two traditions may be reconciled by supposing that the original Hindu city of Lahore did not occupy exactly its present site, or that the city had been deserted or destroyed before its final capture by the Mahommedans and founded by them de novo. There are reasons which make it probable that the first of these suppositions is correct, and that the older city stood somewhere in the vicinity of the existing village of Ichhra, or about three miles from its present site. In the first place, there is a tradition among the inhabitants of the villages of Ichhra and Mozang to this effect; in the next place, the old name of Ichhra was Ichhra-Lahore, which is still to be found, it is said, upon old documents; and lastly, the oldest and most sacred Hindu shrines[6] are to be found in this locality.

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[6] I allude to the Bhairo-ka-Sthan and the Chandrat.

PRE-MAHOMMEDAN HISTORY OF LAHORE

Beyond the fact of its Rajput origin, hardly anything can be recorded of the history of Lahore until the period of the Mahommedan invasion. In the Raja Tarangini, Lahore is mentioned as a dependency of Lilitaditya, the renowned sovrin of Kashmir; in the Deshv Bhaga above mentioned, it is recorded that, at the end of the Dwarpar or brazen age, Bhim Sen fought Ban Mal, Raja of Lahore, a mighty Prince, with an army of 10,000 horsemen, and after a struggle of three days took him prisoner and made his kingdom tributary; and in the ballad poetry of the northern border, "the forest near Lahore, then called Udinagar", figures as the battle ground where Rassalu, son of Sal-Vahn, the eponymic hero of Syalkot, fought and slew the monster Rakhas. These stories cannot, indeed be considered history, but they show the intimate connection of Lahore with the semi-mythic period of Indian history. Numismatic researches tend to show that Lahore formed a portion of the kingdom of Menander and his successors; that it fell successively into the hands of Scythic dynasties of Azes, Kadphises and Kanerkis, and subsequently under the rule of a Sassanian dynasty of Princes, who reigned between the fourth and seven centuries A.D. It is possible that Kanerkis, whose coins are numerous at lahore, and whose date is given by Prinsep as about 100 A.D., is the same as the Keneksen of the Mewar chronicle, and the Kanishka of the annals of Kashmir, in which case Lahore must have been the capital of the third Scythian dynasty.

EARLY STRUGGLES WITH MAHOMMEDANS

However, this may be at the period of the first Mahommedan invasion, in the latter part of the seventh century of our era we find Lahore in possession of a Chauhan Prince of the family of Ajmir. In A.D. 682, according to Ferishta, the Afghans of Kerman and Peshawar, who had, even at that early period, embraced the religion of the Prophet, wrested certain possessions from the Hindu Prince. A war ensued, and in the space of five months seventy battles were fought with varied success, until the Afghans having formed an alliance with the Ghakkars compelled the Raja to cede a portion of his territory. The next mention of Lahore is in the Rajputanah chronicles, where the Bussas of Lahore, a Rajput tribe, are mentioned as rallying to the defence of Chittore when besieged by Mussalman forces in the beginning of the 9th Century. At length, in A.D. 975, Sebektegin, Governor of Khorasan and father of the celebrated Mahmud, advanced beyond the Indus. He was met by Jeipal, Raja of Lahore, whose dominion is said to have extended from Sirhind to Lamghan, and from Kashmir to Multan. By the advice of a Prince of the Bhatti tribe the Raja formed an alliance with the Afghans, and with their aid was enabled to withstand the first invasion. On his succession to the throne of Ghazni, Sebektegin repeated his invasion. A battle ensued in the vicinity of Lamghan. The Raja was defeated, and made overtures for peace. His terms were accepted, and persons sent on the part of Sebektegin to receive the balance of stipulated ransom. On reaching

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Lahore Jeipal proved faithless, and imprisoned those commissioned to receive the treasure. On receiving intelligence of his perfidy, Sebektegin, in the words of Ferishta, "like a foaming torrent hastened towards Hindustan".

Another battle ensued, in which Jeipal was again vanquished and retreated, leaving the territory to the west of the Nilab or Indus in the hands of invader, and chagrined at his double defeat performed the Hindu sacrifice of Johar[7] or devotion, by burning himself to death outside the walls of his capital.

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[7] The suicide of Calanus, the Indian, at Pasargadae, and that of Zarmanochegas at Athens (Strabo Lib. XV., Chapter 1) , are other instances of the performance of this rite. But we need not go back to antiquity for examples; only the other day a peasant of the Kangra District, a leper, deliberately burnt himself to death. According to the official report "one of his brother handed him a light and went away, a second brother watched the burning, and a third thought it a matter of such small interest that he went his usual avocations".

LAHORE TAKEN BY MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

The invader did not retain the conquests he had for in A.D. 1008 a confederation, headed by Anangpal, [8]son of Jeipal again met the advancing army, now commanded by Mahmud, son and successor of Sebektegin, in the vicinity of Peshawar. In the battle which ensued the naphtha balls of the Afghan army, according to a conjectural reading of Ferishta's text, spread dismay among the Hindu soldiery, who fled with a great slaughter. But Lahore was allowed to remain intact for thirteen years longer. Anangpal was succeeded by another Jeipal, called by Al Baruni Nardijanpal, while Mahmud pushed his conquests into Hindustan. But in A.D. 1022 he suddenly marched down from Kashmir, seized Lahore without opposition and gave it over to be plundered. Jeipal II. fled helpless to Ajmir, and the Hindu principality of Lahore was extinguished for ever. A final effort was made by the Hindus in the reign of Mahmud, A.D. 1045, to recover their lost sovereignty, but after a fruitless siege of six months they retired without success, "and thus," says Al Baruni, "the sovereignty of India became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth".

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[8] He is called by Ferishta Anangpal, but Anangpal has the authority of the Rajputanah chronicles and the Puranahs. Anang means "incorporeal" or "unsubstantial", hence Anangpal is translated by Tod "supporter of a desolate abode" an ominous name for the monarch of a falling dynasty.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RESULTS ATTENDING THE INTRODUCTION OF MAHOMMEDANISM

From the above account it will be seen that the princess and people of Lahore played a prominent part in that long continued struggle between Mahommedanism and Hinduism which marks the introduction of the former into India. While Persia was vanquished in three successive battles, and Egypt and the north coast of Africa in less than fifty years, it took upwards of two centuries before Mahommedanism had established a footing across the Indus. The strong social action and reaction which have taken place between the two religions in this part of India may be traced to the fact that the establishment of Mahommedanism was thus gradual, and the comparative tolerance of the earlier Mahommedan dynasties of India is perhaps referable to the same cause [9] the result of those long struggles in which Lahore was so conspicuous; for history shows that the steady resistance of a people to the religion and customs of their conquerors will, as was the case with the Moors in Spain, teach even bigots the necessity of toleration. Even now the Mahommedan of the Punjab is perhaps less bigoted, and the Hindu less grossly superstitious, than elsewhere; and it is remarkable that two of the boldest reformers which India has produced, Gorakhnath and Nanak, were natives of the Punjab.

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[9] See the remarks in Elphinston's 'History of India,' Book V., Chapter 1.

EARLY MAHOMMEDAN PERIOD

During the reigns of the first eight Princess of the Ghaznevide dynasty Lahore was governed by Viceroys, but in the reign of Masaud III. (from A.D. 1102-1118), the seat of Government was removed to Lahore, as the Seljuks having deprived the house of Ghazni of most of its territory in Iran and Turan, the Royal family were compelled to take refuge in their Indian possessions. Lahore appears to have remained the seat of empire until transferred by Mahomed Ghori, the founder of Ghorian dynasty, to Delhi in A.D. 1160. The Ghaznevides, especially the latter ones, appear to have been a tolerant race, and to have adopted the "conciliation policy" towards their Hindu subjects we find them employing troops of Hindu Cavalry, and some of them even adopted on their coinage the titles and written character of the conquered race; and their popularity may further be inferred from the continual disturbances which arose at Lahore after their expulsion. Three localities of Lahore are traditionally connected with the Ghaznevide period, and are looked upon as places of great sanctity, — the tomb of Mallik Ayaz, before alluded to, who is said to have built up the walls and fortress of Lahore miraculously in a single night; the tomb of Syud Izhak, in the quadrangle of Wazir Khan's mosque; and lastly, the tomb of Data Ganj Baksh, a learned divine of Baghdad, the St. Odo of his day, who accompanied the victorious army of Mahmud of Ghazni, in the character of spiritual adviser, and died at an advance age at Lahore. Whatever may have been his deeds, he has unfortunately had no

Rober Wace to chronicle them. He has left a work entitled "Kashf-ul-Mahjub", "Revelation of the Hidden", but it does not reveal a single fact connected with the history of his time.

LAHORE DURING THE GHORIAN AND SLAVE DYNASTIES

During the Ghorian and Slave dynasties Lahore was the focus of conspiracies against Government; indeed, it appears throughout the subsequent history of Mahommedan rule to have been the rendezvous of the Tartar as opposed to the Afghan party. In A.D. 1241 Lahore was taken and plundered by the hordes of Gengiz Khan, and in A.D. 1286 Prince Mahomed, the accomplished son of Sultan Gheiaz-ud-Din Balbun, perished in an encounter with the Moghuls on the banks of the Ravi, and the poet Amir Khosru, the Alcaeus of his time, was taken prisoner by his side.

THE KHILJI AND TOGHLAK DYNASTIES

During the Khilji and Toghlak dynasties Lahore is not conspicuous in the political history of the day; it was once plundered by the Ghakkars, and mention is made of Moghul colonists taking up their abode in the vicinity of the city, and the place of their location is still known by the name of Moghulpura.

INVASION OF TIMUR

The year A.D. 1397 is memorable as the date of the invasion of Timur, the "firebrand of the universe". Lahore was taken by a detachment of his forces, and from the fact that Timur did not plunder it in person, it may be inferred that the city was not particularly rich at the time. On his departure Lahore was left in possession of Syud Khizr Khan, an Afghan and native of India, whom he appointed Viceroy.

THE LODI DYNASTY

From this period it was alternately in the hands of Ghakkars and the ruling dynasty, until in A.D. 1436 it was seized by Behlol Khan, Lodi, one of the Afghan Chiefs, who rose to power on the dissolution of the Toghlak dynasty, and eventually became Emperor. In the reign of his grandson, Sultan Ibrahim, Daulat Khan, Lodi, the Afghan Governor of Lahore, revolted, and, Count Julan-like, invited to his aid the great Chagatai, Prince Baber, who had long meditated an invasion of Hindustan, which he claimed as the representative of Timur.

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LAHORE TAKEN BY BABER

Baber came, saw and conquered. He was met by an Afghan army composed of the supporters of Sultan Ibrahim in the vicinity of Lahore, but it was speedily vanquished, and the victory, enraged at the opposition he had experienced, let loose his soldiery upon the city, which they plundered and partially burnt. This happened in A.D. 1524. Baber did not remain long at Lahore, but after a halt of four days marched on for Delhi. He did not, however, get further than Sirhind on this occasion. Daulat Khan, Lodi, who had invited him to Hindustan, being dissatisfied with his reward of a Jagir, had already commenced to intrigue against him. He therefore returned to Lahore, and having parcelled out the provinces he had conquered among his Begs, went back to Kabul. The next year Lahore was the hot-bed of intrigues fomented by Daulat Khan, which it is unnecessary to detail, but the following year Baber again appeared. An attempt was again made to oppose him at the Ravi near Lahore, but the force melted away before it was attacked, and Baber, without entering Lahore, passed on towards Hindustan.

A.D. 1526

This was his last expedition, and it ended in the decisive victory of Panipat over the Afghan Army, the capture of Delhi and the foundation of the Moghul Empire.

LAHORE AT THE PERIOD OF BABER'S CONQUEST

It is disappointing that Baber, who always took care to see what was to be seen, and has, in his autobiography, left such graphic descriptions of Kabul, Samarkand and the environs of Delhi, passes over Lahore in silence. From this it may be inferred that the city had, at that period, no architectural pretensions. The insignificance of the existing Pathan remains confirms this inference. [10] Two small mosques, of no pretensions, in the heart of the city, the Nimiwala mosque and the Shiranwala mosque, are the only remains of the Pathan period, as far as I am aware, existing at Lahore at the present day.

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10. It is also confirmed by the fact that the traveller Ibn-Batuta, who must have passed through Lahore on his way from Multan to Delhi, is silent respecting it.

THE MOGHUL PERIOD

The reigns of Humayun, Akbar, Jehangir, Shahjehan and Aurungzib, the successors of Baber, may be considered the golden period of the history of Lahore. The city again became a place of Royal residence; gardens, tombs, mosques, baradaris sprung up in every direction; the population increased; suburbs grew up; until the city became, in the language of Abulfazil, "the grand resort of people of all nations", and celebrated for its fine buildings and luxuriant gardens. To this day almost all that is architecturally beautiful at Lahore is referable to this period.

AESTHETICAL INFLUENCE OF THE MOGHULS

To the Moghuls we owe the introduction of what now form three striking characteristics of the principal cities of Upper India.

ARCHITECTURE

In the first place, there grew up with them a new style of architecture, more splendid and elaborate, though less massive than the Pathan, from which it was developed. Bulb-like domes supported on elaborate pendentives; edgings, marble lattice windows, and brilliantly enamelled walls, are the characteristics of this style.

GARDENS

In the next place it is to their love of the picturesque in nature, a pleasing feature in their character, we owe the construction of those regularly planned gardens [11] with their dense foliage, fountains, and imitative cascades, which have excited the admiration of all travellers to the East. Coming from the well watered valleys and waving foliage of Ush and Andejan, Baber regarded with European disgust the dusty, treeless plains of the Punjab. In his memoirs he bitterly complains of the ugliness of the cities of Hindustan. "They have no walled gardens", he says, "no artificial water courses", and he alludes to the impression of novelty produced by the garden he laid out at Agra. "The men of Hindu", he says, "who had never before seen placed formed in such a plan, or laid out with so much elegance, gave the name of Kabul to the side of the Jumna on which these places were built".

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[11] It is remarkable that there is no Hindi word in common use for a "garden". Bagh and Chaman are Persian, and Rauza Arabic.

TOMBS

Lastly, the same appreciation of natural scenery, combined with that solicitude for their dead, which characterises Tartar races, led to the erection of those numerous garden enclosed tombs which form a picturesque feature of the environs of every Moghul city. [12]The thought they suggest as they rise, dome after dome, from amidst the crowded suburbs or what were crowded suburbs, of DEATH IN THE MIDST OF LIFE is solemn and impressive. At the same time we cannot but reflect that these monuments are, in many cases, the offspring of nothing more than a selfish desire on the part of the deceased to perpetuate his own name, [13]and we miss the

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12. This tomb building propensity is not peculiar to the Moghuls, but the number and importance of these monuments and their picturesque additions would seem to have been owing to their influence.

13. This practice of building their own monuments at first sight seems to imply a distrust on the part of these Turki nobles of the Pietas of their heirs. But it must rather, perhaps, be ascribed to the uncertainty, under the Eastern despotism, of transmitting wealth to posterity. Most large incomes were the result either of personal favour or peculation in either case the fortune generally died with the possessor; we can understand, therefore, why a man, who had been successful in his generation, should be anxious to rear himself a suitable monument that "necessary adjunct of a Tartar's glory" before the means to do so had been dissipated.

Christian sentiment inspired by the mode in which England deals with her illustrious dead. There, in one "temple of reconciliation", the dust of the great and good, of every shade of party or opinion, mingles beneath one hallowed roof; here, every noble has a Westminster Abbey of his own, and the separated in life are not united even in death.

PRINCE KAMRAN GAVE THE FIRST IMPULSE TO THE ARCHITECTURAL ADORNMENT OF LAHORE

Prince Kamran, the brother of Humayun, when Viceroy at Lahore, seems to have given the first impulse in this direction. He built a house and a garden at Lahore in the vicinity of Naulukka, extending from thence to the river Ravi. It was here probably that Humayun, on his retreat from Sher Shah, the Afghan claimant of the throne, was entertained by his perfidious brother just before his temporary expulsion. A story is told that, as the Royal cortege was crossing the Ravi in flight for the West, his counsellors suggested to Humayun the advisability of then and there despatching the brother, whose faithlessness was one great cause of his misfortunes; but the Emperor indignantly rejected the proposal. A baradari said to have been built by Prince Kamran is now used as a toll-house at the bridge of boats. This is the oldest specimen of Moghul architecture in Lahore, but has undergone considerable alterations.

SHER SHAH

The new Emperor, Sher Shah, appears to have regarded Lahore as a place, from its Moghul partizanship, politically dangerous, and at one time meditated razing it to the ground, and transferring its inhabitants to Mankot in the Syalkot range; and, on his death bed, lamented his not having done so as one of the omissions of his life. The design was again revived in the reign of his successor, but never carried into effect.

HUMAYUN A.D. 1554

After an exile of 14 years Humayun returned in triumph to Lahore, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants.

After his death at Delhi in A.D. 1556, and the accession of Akbar, the peace of Lahore was again disturbed by Hakim, son of Akbar, the younger brother of Akbar, who descended from Kabul, of which province he was Governor, and seized Lahore in A.D. 1563, but was soon expelled; in 1581 he made another attempt, but the seige was raised by the advance of Akbar in person.

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AKBAR A.D. 1556

From A.D. 1584 to A.D. 1598, Akbar apparently made Lahore his headquarters and undertook from thence the conquest of Kashmir and the operations against the Afghan tribes of the frontier.

It was during his residence at Lahore that Akbar would appear to have developed to their greatest extent those principles of religious liberality for which he is so conspicuous. His court was the resort of savants of every creed, and religious discussions were the order of the day. [14]It is related that the Emperor erected two buildings outside the city for the entertainment of devotees of every kind; one, called Khairpura, for Jews, Gabrs, or fire worshippers, and Mahommedans, and another, called Dharmpura for Hindus. Weekly meetings were held for discussion, in which Bir Bal, Abul-Faizi, Abul-Fazal, and other independent thinkers took part. Alchemy, fascination and magic were also practised, according to the Historian, [15] and the

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[14] The odium theologicum excited by these discussions led sometimes to fatal disputes. In one of them Mulla Ahmad, a learned Shia, compiler of the Tarikh-i-Alfi, was assassinated in the streets of Lahore by one Mirza Fulad. The murderer was sentenced to be bound alive to the leg of an elephant, "and thus", adds the Sunni narrator, "attained martyrdom". See Sir H. Elliot's Biographical index of the Mahommedan Historians of India.

[15] Abd-ul-Kadir, author of the `Tarikh-i-Budauni'.

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Emperor himself is said to have become an adept in the former art. In the same spirit of electicism, Akbar revived the old Persian festival in honour of the sun, and appointed Abul-Fazl superintendent of fire temples. A portion of the building called Khairpura is still said to remain in the vicinity of Daranagar on the left bank of the road to Meean Meer [16] and there is a memento of the imperial partiality to sun worship in an enamelled figure of the sun visible to this day on the front wall of the palace[17].

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[16] It is not improbable that there is an allusion to the practice of alchemy at Khairpura in the following passage in the inscription on the tomb of Meean Meer, which is in the immediate vicinity of Daranagar: "The dust of whose portals is envied by the stone of the alchemist".

[17] Tod mentions a similar decoration at Oodipore, "A huge painted sun of gypsum in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the Hall of Audience". This subject will be noticed again hereafter.

VISIT OF THE PORTUGUESE MISSIONARIES

It was during this period that some Portguese Missionaries, at the express request of Akbar, proceeded from Goa to the Emperor's Court at Lahore. They arrived with sanguine hopes of Christianising the country. In their journal they describe Lahore as a "delightful city". On arrival, they continue, they were taken to the Imperial residence, situated "on an island in the river"; being introduced to His Majesty, who is described as "a man about 50 years old, and white like an European". They presented him with a splendid image of the virgin, and he received it with the greatest admiration. But, notwithstanding this good beginning, their hopes of conversion were not realised, and they eventually returned re-infecta to Goa. Akbar's successor, Jehangir, was even more liberal than his father. He allowed some Portuguese Jesuits to establish a mission and build a church at Lahore, and even assigned stipends to the priests. But this liberality ceased after his death. Shahjehan — a more strict Mussalman — confiscated the pensions and pulled down the church; but some traces of it still remained when Lahore was visited by the French traveller Thevenot in A.D. 1665.

It was about this period also (A.D. 1584) that Lahore was visited by four of our own countrymen, Messrs. Fitch, Newberry, Leedes and Storey, members of the Turkey or Levant Company. The former left an account of his travels, but whether he gives any detailed description of Lahore I am unable to ascertain, but any notice of Lahore from his pen would be most interesting, as containing the impressions of the first Englishman who visited Lahore, and that at a period of its greatest splendour.

LITERATURE

The literary circle which followed the Imperial Court appears to have been peculiarly active during its sojourn at Lahore. It was here the voluminous history of Mahommedanism from the earliest period up to the thousandth year of the Hijri era, compiled by order of the Emperor, was finished and revised; and it was here that the translation of the Mahabharata and the Raja Tarangin into Persian — a work still unaccomplished as regards our own language — was undertaken. I forbear inflicting upon the reader a list of the historians, the poets and the divines who wrote and rhymed and occasionally fought within the walls of Lahore between A.D. 1584 and A.D. 1598, but there is one among them who deserves special mention in a history of Lahore, I mean the Historian Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of the `Tabaqat Akbari' — the first historical work of which India forms exclusively the subject matter. He died in A.D. 1594, and was buried in his garden at Lahore. I have endeavoured to find out the tomb of this celebre, to whom Ferishta owed so much in the compilation of his name and his work are but little known to the modern literati of Lahore.

It is also worthy of remark that Akbar's able minister„ Todar Mall, the best Revenue Officer perhaps the Mohgul Government ever had, and the ideal of an oriental financier, expired at Lahore. The visit of the late Mr. Wilson to Lahore before commencing the new era of finance which he has opened was thus historically appropriate.

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ARCHITECTURAL WORKS OF AKBAR

During his residence at Lahore Akbar enlarged and repaired the Fort and surrounded it and the city with a wall, portions of which still remain, though it was almost built de novo at the beginning of the present century by Ranjit Singh. In the fort, up to within a few years, there remained some good specimens of the peculiar style of architecture, half Mahommedan half Hindu, adopted by the Emperor, but they are nearly all destroyed; the Akbari Mahal, or Chamber of Akbar, has been razed to the ground, and the smaller Takht or Throne room has so completely transmogrified by modern additions that it is hardly recognizable as an antique building. The massive gateway, now blocked up, leading from the Huzuri Bagh into the fort, was a work of Akbar, and its boldness of design contrasts remarkably with the elegant but somewhat finnikin architecture of the later buildings.

Other architectural remains of this period are the tomb of Shah Chiragh, lately used as a residence by the Deputy Commissioner, and now being transformed into a Government Office. The tomb of Mir Ismael, once the trysting-place of the Lahore wrestlers, and now the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor; the tomb of Mussa Shah, by the Railway Station plot noticeable as one of the few specimens at Lahore of purely Pathan design, and at the same time one of the earliest, if not the earliest, instance at Lahore of the use of coloured tiles as an architectural decoration, — a mosque called the Mosque of

Kala Khan to the right of the road to Meean Meer; another by the Dehli Gate, and one or two others of less importance, which will be noticed in the descriptive portion of this memoir. Several Hindu shrines, such as the Tibbika Shibwala, were built at this period, but none of them have any architectural pretensions.

RAPID INCREASE OF THE CITY IN AKBAR'S TIME

During the reign of Akbar, Lahore, as might have been expected increased greatly in size and opulence. Up to this period, according to a native writer, [18]Lahore consisted of a number of detached hamlets; it now grew into an extensive city. The city, par excellence, was that portion surrounded by the wall and covered the same area as the present city; but outside the walls were long bazars and thickly populated suburbs which no longer exist; but some idea of their extend may be formed from the fact that at the time Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad wrote his work, that is, the latter part of Akbar's reign — the most populous quarter of Lahore was the quarter of Langar Khan. [19]This quarter was situated between the Civil Station of Anarkali and the village of Mozung, upwards a mile from the enceinte of the present city. Another writer of the same period, the celebrated Abul-Fazl, [20]speaks of Lahore as a very great and populous city, famous for its artisans and the excellence of its manufactures. The climate was considered peculiarly salubrious, and it had two special attractions in his eyes from the fact that musk melons and ice were procurable all the year round in the bazars.

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[18] Amin Ahmad Razo, author of a work called `Haft Iqlim', dated A.H. 1032, A.D. 1624.

[19] Langar Khan distinguished himself as Governor of Multan in the reign of Humayun, who in recognition of his services assigned him a residence at Lahore in the locality which still bears his name.

[20] In the Ain Akbari.

JEHANGIR

The reign of Jehangir commenced with a rebellion, and, as usual Lahore felt the effects of it.

REBELLION OF KHOSRU

Prince Khosru, the eldest son of the Emperor, seized the suburbs of Lahore and laid seige to the citadel. His army was quickly defeated by the imperial troops, and his adherents dealt with fearful severity. Seven hundred prisoners, were impaled in two rows leading from the gate of Lahore, and the Prince was marched past them in mock dignity on an elephant from Kamran's Palace at Naulukka, where he had been temporarily placed, to the Fort, where he was kept in close confinement in chains.

GURU ARJUN MAL

The celebrated Sikh Guru Arjun Mal, the fourth sucoessor of Nanak, and the compiler of the Adi Granth, was somehow implicated in the rebellion and was imprisoned; and his death, which occurred soon after, is attributed to the rigors of his confinement; though tradition asserts that having obtained permission from his guards to bathe in the river Ravi, which flowed by his prison, he miraculously disappeared beneath the stream. However this may be, he is regarded by the Sikhs as their first martyr, and his death was one of the causes which changed them from a peaceable to a warlike sect, and instilled into their minds that bitter hatred of Mahommedans which stood us in such stead in 1857. His humble shrine [21] may still be seen between the palace of Moghuls and Mousoleum of Ranjit Singh, —a fitting locality for the memorial of him who was an unconscious cause of the downfall of the one and the elevation of the other.

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[21] A well, said to have been dug by him may be seen in the vicinity of the golden mosque; Ranjit Singh built a baoli on the spot.

JEHANGIR'S TOMB

Jehangir was fond of Lahore, though one would have thought that the place would not have had very pleasant associations connected with it. In A.D. 1622, he fixed his Court here, and when he died at Rajauri, in Kashmir, [22] in A.D. 1627, it was his express wish that he should be buried at Lahore of Nur-Jehan, his devoted, though imperious wife, and through her exertions the Mausoleum at Shahdara, one of the chief ornaments of Lahore, was erected in his memory. In the immediate vicinity is the tomb of Nur-Jehan herself, an humble imitation of that of Jehangir, and the tomb of Asof Khan or Asof Jah, her brother, the Historian, [23] Soldier and Wazir, and, in the latter capacity, in common with his sister, a great opponent of English interests in the Court of Jehangir [24] at the period of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy.

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[22] The author of the `Iqbal Namah Jehangiri' stated that his death was the result of a shock on the nervous system brought on by having seen one of his attendants dashed to pieces by falling down a precipice in pursuit of a deer. This is not very credible one, who, in his own memoirs, gloats over the atrocities committed at the commencement of his reign. Others attribute his death, with more probability, to asthma.

[23] He composed a portion of the `Tarikh-i-Alfi'.

[24] Until Sir Thomas Row bribed him with a valuable pearl, after which "all went on well and smoothly" — Eliphinston's History of India.

Both the latter tombs have been almost completely stripped of their marble facings and coloured enamellings by the Sikhs, but the Emperor's tomb has fared somewhat better, though it mourns the loss of an elegant lattice-work parapet of marble, which surrounded the roof and the galleries of the minars, and must have given a lightness to the structure which at present it does not possess.

It is also asserted that a marble dome once rose from the centre of the roof over the vaulted chamber which contains the tomb, but that Aurungzib removed it in order to insult the remains of his unorthodox predecessor. However this may be, there is an unfinished appearance about the tomb which detracts considerably from the general effect.

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BUILDINGS OF JEHANGIR

Jehangir himself built but little, and Lahore has specimens of his architecture in the greater Khwabgah or Sleeping Palace, the Moti Masjid [25] or Pearl Mosque, formerly the Chapelle Royale for the ladies of the Imperial harem, but now used as the Government Treasury, and lastly the tomb of Anarkali, which after having served a variety of secular purposes, had ended in becoming the Station Church.

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[25] Subsequently Shahjehan built a bathing pavilion on the side opposite the main building.

THE KHWABGAH

The first of these buildings consisted of a large quadrangle with a colonnade on three sides[26] of red stone pillars, intricately carved with bracket capitals, consisting of the figures of peacocks, elephants and griffins. On the centre of the fourth side, which overlooked the Ravi, stood a lofty pavilion, in the Moghul style of architecture, and on either side at the point of contact of the colonnade with the outer wall were two chambers with verandahs of elaborately carved pillars supporting a sloping entablature in the Hindu style. In the quadrangle was a garden, with a chabutra or platform of marble mozaic, and beneath the pavilion and colonnades were underground chambers to serve as a refuge from the heat. Sikh and European disfigurements have completely destroyed the effect of this beautiful quadrangle. The pavilion has been transmogrified into a mess-room; the colonnades have been walled in and cut up into quarters, but the two chambers remain in tolerable preservation, and are fine specimens of the Hindu-Moselm style of art usually supposed to be peculiar to the time of Akbar. The mosque of Miriam Makani or Miriam Zamani, by the eastern gateway of the Fort, is another specimen of the architecture of this period, and, though plain, is interesting as being an example of the transition style between Pathan and Moghul architecture.

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[26] Usually called the "Moti Mandar".

SHAHJEHAN

On the death of Jehangir, Lahore was again scene of a struggle between rival claimants to the throne, which as usual terminated in the execution of the vanquished.

ATTEMPS OF SHEHRIAR TO OBTAIN THE THRONE

On the one side was Shehriar, the younger son of the late Emperor, supported by the once all powerful Nur-Jehan, whose daughter by her former husband he had married; and on the other, Shahjehan, supported by his father-in-law, Asof Khan.

DEFEATED BY ASOF KHAN

Shehriar seized the treasury at Lahore and proclaimed himself Emperor, but he and his adherents were speedily attacked and defeated by the energetic Asof Khan, and the Prince himself, together with the prisoners. The Prince and his two cousins were put to death at Lahore, and Shahjehan and his sons remained the sole direct representatives of the house of Timur.

Asof Khan now enjoyed a position even more elevated than in the preceeding reign, and continued to do so until A.D. 1632, when he failed in the siege of Bijapur, from which date he seems to have lost favour, and his decease must have taken place soon afterwards.

DEATH OF NUR-JEHAN

Nur-Jehan survived until A.D. 1646, but her influence was extinguished for ever with the death of Shehriar. From that date she lived in seculsion and devoted herself to the memory of her husband. She and a faithful female attendant are buried side by side in a tomb she had constructed during her life-time in imitation of her husband's, and in friendly proximity to the tomb of the very brother who had caused her downfall.

LAHORE DURING THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE SONS OF SHAHJEHAN

During the struggles between the sons of Shahjehan, which clouded over the latter part of the reign of that Emperor, as if in retribution for the atrocities which attended its commencement, Lahore was a warm partizan of Dara Sheko, the eldest son, and, according to our notions, the rightful heir to the throne. He had fixed his residence at Lahore, and gained great popularity by his engaging manners and generous disposition, and by the interest he took in the welfare of the city, which he improved by the construction of numerous chawks or market-places. He himself collected a history of all the holy men and conventual institutions of the place [27]and had as his spiritual adviser the eminent Lahore saint, Meean Meer, who if we may judge of the tenets of the master by those of the disciple, must have been a singularly liberal minded Mussalman. When pursued by his brother Aurungzib in A.D. 1658, at the time when his cause was almost hopeless, Lahore supplied him with men and money, [28]and when his wife died, during his hurried flight to the Western frontier, Lahore received her last remains. The disasters of his flight to Gujarat, the painful scene near Ahmadabad, as the city closed its gates against him, his betrayal and cruel death, are matters beyond the scope of the present memoir, and the reader is referred for an account of them to the graphic pages of Bernier, or the more discriminating narrative of Elphinston. His name is still held in affectionate remembrance at Lahore, and the costly Badshahi Mosque, built at Lahore by Aurungzib a few years after this event, has ever been held in disrepute, because built from the "spoils of blood", that is, from the proceeds of the confiscated estates of Dara;[29] a remarkable instance of the strong and lasting hold which personal attachment and sympathy with personal wrong has, in some cases, in the minds even of Asiatics.

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[27] The work is still extant, but gives no trace of the alleged heretical opinions of its author.

[28] Among his adherents was Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru.

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29. The mosque was converted into a powder magazine by Ranjit Singh, and has only lately been restored to the Mahommedans; but the boon is but little appreciated by them.

PROSPERITY OF LAHORE DURING THE REIGN OF SHAHJEHAN

During the reign of Shahjehan, Lahore, though no longer dar-ul-hukumat or capital, was still a place of importance. It lay on the route of the imperial marches to Kashmir, and was the arsenal and rendezvous of the armies despatched to Balkh and the North Western Frontier. It, therefore, still continued to increase in size and splendour.

ADDITION TO THE PALACE

The Palace was enlarged and beautified under the superintendence of Asof Khan.

THE SMALLER KHWABGAH

A smaller Khwabgah was erected adjoining the western side of that built by Jehangir. It consisted of a quadrangle, enclosed on three sides by an arcade in the Moghul style of architecture, the centre of the fourth side being occupied by a light marble pavilion, with lattice windows looking towards the river. In the inner space was a garden, with fountains flowing into marble receptacles inlaid with flowers wrought in precious stones. The arches and the chambers into which they led have suffered the same fate as those in the Khwabgah of Jehangir; even the marble slabs upon the walls have received the usual coating of whitewash, but the pavilion remains in tolerable preservation, and is an elegant specimen of the palatial architecture of the time. In front of this pavilion, outside the palace walls was a platform raised on arches, [30]called the `arz begi,' where the Omra assembled every morning to receive the commands of his Imperial Majesty, who showed himself at the lattice window immediately above to the multitude assembled beneath.

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[30] It is now used as a stable.

THE SAMAN BURJ

To the left of the Khwabgah was erected the range of buildings with octagonal towers, the largest which is called, par-excellence, the Saman Burj,[31] and contains the small though costly marble pavilion, inlaid with flowers wrought in precious stones and known by the significant name of Naulukka,[32] or the pavilion which cost nine lakhs

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[31] Saman is an abbreviation of musamman, octagonal; similarly, Taj Mahal is a corruption of Mumtaz Mahal. It is by no means certain that the building now known as the Saman Burj is that to which the name was originally applied. Current report says that there was another lofty tower, detached from the main building, which was so called, and, indeed, unless the language of the inscription on the Hathipaun Gateway is inordinately hyperbolical, such would appear to be indicated by it. The inscription runs as follows:-
"The king ordered a tower to be erected, which in height should be beyond measurement and conception, like unto the highest heaven. In beauty, loftiness and excellence such a tower never has been, and never will be seen under the sky".
This is hardly applicable to the building now known as Saman Burj.

[32] This was built subsequently by Aurungzib.

Pride not thyself for the kingdom is of God.

THE SHISH MAHAL

The celebrated Shish Mahal was used by Ranjit Singh as a reception room, and historically interesting as the place where the sovereignty of the Punjab was formerly made over to the British Government. A new gateway was opened into it for the Emperor's private use, called the Hathipaun Gateway, which is now the only entrance into the Fort. A winding flight of steps, sufficiently broad to allow an elephant's ascending — hence the gateway's name— led to this portion of the palace, through a garden which covered the space now occupied by the Fort magazine, and suggested a comparison with the hanging gardens of Bahylon. Opposite the pavilion in Jehangir's Khwabgah a hammam or suite of bathing rooms was erected, which served not only for the purpose indicated by the name, but also as a cabinet council chamber.

THE TAKHT

In the centre of the Fort enclosure, the once stately building, known as the Takht or Throne Room of Shahjehan, now vandalized into a barrack; this was the Diwan-i-A'm or Hall of Audience where the Emperor daily sat in state to transact business, or in official parlance, held kutchery; as His Majesty took his seat the musicians in the Naqar Khanah struck up a martial strain, and a glittering pageant of men, horses and elephants, so graphically described by Bernier, passed in review before him; but, meanwhile, there issued from an empty tomb immediately in front, a voice reminding the Shah-inshah that he too must die like other men. [33]The procession, according to Bernier, lasted for upwards of an hour; but notwithstanding the time wasted in these absurdities, a large amount of business was got through, and the Emperor, with all his love for show and splendour, never remitted his vigilance over the internal government. Of Aurungzib, indeed, it is said that "the appointment of the lowest Revenue Officer of a district, or the selection of a clerk in an office was not beneath his attention", while he planned each campaign, issued instructions during its progress, fixed on points of attack, and regulated the movements of every detachment or convoy.

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33. Portions of the Naqar Khanah or Band-stand still remain, but the empty tomb has within the last few years experienced the fate which it was intended to typify.

COLOURED DESIGNS ON THE PALACE FRONT

The Palace was now, in size and interior magnificence, worthy of an Imperial residence; its front extended some five hundred yards along the banks of the river, which then flowed near its base; but the dull red brick of which it was built, was unsuited to the Imperial taste; the whole Palace front was accordingly covered with brilliantly coloured designs in Kasi or porcelain-work, executed upon hard cement so as to resemble mozaic. These designs are not simply confined to patterns but include, in defiance of Mahommedan orthodoxy, the figures of men, horses and elephants, engaged in scenes chiefly of a sporting character, and also symbolical representations of zodiacal signs and of the angels, who, according to old Persian mythology, presided over each month and each day of the year. Among them we recognize the dragon — from Hastabar, representing the constellation of that name, and jadi, the oriental Capricorn. But most conspicuous perhaps are four figures of rising sun over the arched compartments in front of Jehangir's palace. These would appear intended to represent the divine mihr, or genius of the Sun, in whose honour two important festivals, that of nauroz, at the vernal equinox, and mihrgan at the autumnal, were held. In like manner the frequently recurring ornament of the slavers filled with fruit and flowers would appear to be suggested by the offerings presented on those festive occasions; and the vessels of water and baskets of vians, which form a common decoration of the walls of Moghul tombs, — that of Jehangir, for instance, [34] are perhaps referable to the same origin; for we know that it was an old Persian custom to place offerings of food and drink on the tops of houses and high place to conciliate the spirits of departed friends.

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[34] A native gravely told me that the vessels were decanters, and intended to indicate the wine-bibbing propensities of the deceased Emperor.

HISTORICAL INTEREST OF THE DESIGNS

The designs are thus interesting for two reasons, — first, exhibiting the open contempt in which the strict rules of Mahommedanism forbidding the representation of living beings were held; and in the second place, as indicating a strong recurrence to old Persian superstitions and mithraic symbolism at the period of their construction. They further completely corroborate the statements of contemporary writers, such as Abdul-Kadir, Abul-Fazl and the Portuguese Missionaries, who all notice the assiduous worship paid to the sun and heavenly bodies by the earlier Moghul Emperors. This tendency to mithraism was not, however, confined to the Emperors of Hindustan. A mithraic emblem adorns the Hall of Audience at Udipore, the Lion and the Sun have from a remote period been the heraldic emblems of the Persian empire, and in the little Sahib-i-Qiran, or Lord of propitious Constellations, assumed originally by Tamerlane and afterwards adopted by Shahjehan, and inscribed by him upon the entrance into his palace at Lahore, we have similar relics of the religion of Zoroaster.

ORIGIN OF THE ART CALLED KASHI

It may not be uninteresting in this place to say a few words about the origin and history of the art called Kashi, or more properly Qashi, by which the architects of the day were enabled to compensate to some extent for the want of stone material and the consequent impossibility of sculpture, and to give to plain brick walls that appearance of costliness and durability which in an architectural point of view is essential to success.

The use of glazed tiles as an architectural decoration is common all over Persia, and is not uncommon in the Mahommedan cities of India; and we here mention of porcelain towers among the architectural works of Chinese races; but I have been unable to discover any history of the use and progress of this art or of its introduction into India.

As far as my very limited observation extends, the art would appear to have been introduced from China by the Moghuls.

The earliest instance of its use which I can discover is the celebrated mosque of Tabriz, built about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century of our era, after the conquest of Persia by the Moghuls. The next perhaps is the tomb of Mohammad Khudabendah at Sultaniah, which was built by the successor Ghazan Khan, the builder of the mosque at Tabriz.

From this date the use of glazed tiles became common in Persia, but it was not for upwards of two centuries from this time that it was introduced into Hindustan.

Baber, writing in the sixteenth century, speaks of a mosque at Samarkand "covered with porcelain of China" as a novelty, indicating thereby at once the supposed origin of the art, and also that it was not in common use at the time he wrote in Afghanistan and the adjacent countries.

The earliest instance of the use of this mode of decoration at Lahore is the mosque of Shah Mussa, built in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. The colours of this oldest specimen are as vivid, and the decoration as perfect, as in any of the later ones. But Kashi art did not come into general use until the time of Shahjehan. At the same time the art took a new form. Encaustic tiles were to a great extent disused, and the designs executed upon a hard kind of cement. This, being probably a cheaper process, led to the almost universal adoption of Kashi designs as an architectural ornament. This is hardly a mosque, or a tomb, or a gateway built during this period whose walls are not covered with them. Strange to say, after the reign of Shahjehan it became entirely disused, and the art may be said to be lost in the Punjab. Coloured tiles are still manufactured in Lahore and Multan, but the colouring is very inferior, and the process of executing coloured designs upon cement is altogether unknown.

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THE MOSQUE OF WAZIR KHAN

The finest existing specimens of Kashi work are to be found in the mosque of Wazir Khan, built in A.D. 1634 by Hakim Ali-ud-Din Wazir Khan, a native of Chiniot, who, although a Punjabi by birth, rose during the reign of the liberal-minded Shahjehan to be Governor of Lahore, as well as Court physician. In gratitude for his unlooked for prosperity under the rule of a stranger, he erected the mosque of an old Ghaznevide saint. Artists, it is said, were sent for expressly from China to execute the Kashi work, and the mosque was pronounced, according to a writer of the day, [35] "a mole on the cheek of the city of Lahore".

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[35] Sujan Singh, who, however, makes no allusion to the story about the Chinese artists. The employment of Chinese is improbable in itself, as there are no traces of Chinese style in the designs or their execution; on the other hand, the origin of the tradition is easily accounted for by the fact that Kashi is popularly known as "China work".

SHALIMAR GARDEN

Besides the architectural works above described, the following may be mentioned as belonging to the period of Shahjehan:- The Gardens of Shalimar, the Versailles of the Punjab, designed by Ali Mardan Khan, the celebrated canal architect, in imitation of the garden of that name built by Jehangir at the sources of the Jhelum in Kashmir;

TOMB OF ALI MARDAN KHAN AND GULABI BAGH

The Tomb of Ali Mardan Khan himself; the gateway leading to the Gulabi Bagh, or "Garden of Rosewater", whose beauty, was such, according to the inscription, that-

> "The tulip marked itself
> with the spot [of envy]",
>
> "The flower of the sun
> adorned it as a lamp;"[36]

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[36] The inscription thus romantic in its commencement goes on to relate that the garden was laid out by the Emperor Shahjehan in memory of his — wet-nurse! It is a good specimen of the chair-oscuro style of composition favourite amongst Persian Poets.

ABUL MUALI'S TOMB AND THE IDGAH

The tomb and shrine of Abul Muali; the Idgah by the Railway Station plot; the tomb of Meean Meer; the Baradari of Wazir Khan, the gateway of which is now turned into the Station Museum; and lastly, the gateway commonly called the "Chauburji", once the entrance into the garden of Zebinda Begam, a learned daughter of Shahjehan, and, what is more, an authoress who, in her shady retreat on the banks of Ravi, composed a volume of mystical poems which are still read and admired by the learned in the Punjab and Hindustan.[37]

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37. 37. The work is entitled the "Diwan-i-Makhfi", vide Appendix, where a few specimens of its contents are given.

REIGN OF AURUNGZIB

At the date of the accession of Aurungzib in A.D. 1658, Lahore must have fallen off in wealth and populousness from what it was in the days of his predecessors. The absence of the Court and the foundation of Jehanabad, or New Delhi, had drawn away the bulk of the artificers and trading population to that more favoured locality, and when Bernier passed through it in A.D. 1664 the houses had begun to look dilapidated, and the long streets of the city to be disfigured with ruins. It was still, however, the capital of the most important Wazirat of the empire, and benefited by the occasional presence of the Emperor during his march to Kashmir at the commencement of the hot season.

THE "BUND" OR QUAY OF ALUMGIR

In the fourth year of his reign, the city having suffered a good deal from the encroachment of the river, Aurungzib had a massive quay of masonry constructed for upwards of three miles along the river's bank. The quay, it is said, was faced with lead; flights of wheels projecting over the side made the waters of the Ravi available for the gardens which lined its banks. The work is compared by a contemporary writer to the "rampart built by Secander Dhulkarnein against the incursions of Gog and Magog;" and, as a rampart, indeed, it proved most effectual; for it not only effected the object of saving the city from destruction, but frightened away the river altogether; so that in a few years the inhabitants saw, with dismay, the Ravi changes its course, and retire a mile away from the city, leaving the quay upon which so much had been spent, and about which so much had been written, ignominiously high and dry. From that date, I believe, the main stream of the river has never flowed in its old channel, though occasionally an arm of the river has taken a circuit along its old course, and at the time of annexation there will still be a small stream flowing under the Fort walls. The remains of the quay or "bund" of Alumgir, as it is called, are still traceable between the north-east end of the Fort and the village of Bhogewal.

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THE JAMA MASJID

In the year A.D. 1674 Aurungzib was engaged for upwards of two years in a war with the Afghans of the north-west frontier. In order to supervise the operations his presence in the Punjab was continually necessary. It was during his visits to Lahore during this period that the construction of the Jama Masjid, the most striking building in Lahore, whose white bulb-like domes and colossal minars may be seen for miles, was undertaken. Its architect was Fidae Khan Khokah, who held the post of Master of Ordnance to His Majesty. As a work of art, it is not to be compared with the Imperial Mosque at Delhi, though at first sight it has some resemblance to it. The absence of side entrance and the position of the minarets at the four corners of the quadrangle give the building a very stiff appearance, and we miss the graceful subordination of part to part, which is so pleasing in the Delhi mosque. There is, moreover, a poverty of detail; the riwaq, or colonnades at the side, are plain in the extreme, and the minars, divested of their cupolas, which were so shattered in the earthquake of A.D. 1840 that they had to be removed, have some resemblance at a distance to certain unpoetic structures common in manufacturing towns in England. At the same time the effect of the arcade of red sandstone adorned with marble tracing, with the tall semi-domed arch in the centre, seen through the elegant gateway resting on a broad flight of steps, which meets the eye of the spectator from the Huzuri Bagh, is very fine; and in defence of the architect it may be remarked that many of the defects may be ascribed rather to the "orthodoxy" than to the bad taste of the designer. The arrangement of the mosque is in fact a recurrence to that of the examplar mosque of El Walid at Mecca, from which that of the Delhi mosque is a tasteful departure.

It has already been mentioned that the building was turned into a magazine by the Sikhs, and only recently restored to the Mahommedans, who, however, to a certain extent, shun it as an "Akeldama".

The architectural History of Lahore may be said to close with the reign of Aurungzib and the completion of the Jama Masjid. [38] Later attempts, such as the golden mosque of Bikhari Khan and the palace and tomb of Khan Bahadur at Begampura, only show how architectural taste fell with the fall of the empire, and became a mongrel style, half Mahommedan and half Hindu.

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38. It is difficult to understand why an economical prince like Aurungzib should have lavished so much money in the erection of these expensive works in a city which was not his capital. Possibly the popular account may be correct, viz., that it was done as a peace-offering to the manes of Dara Sheko, and to specify the people who were aggrieved at his cruel death. There is another story current that Aurangzib built it in order to eclipse the beauties of the mosque of Wazir Khan.

LAHORE AFTER THE DEATH OF AURUNGZIB

From the death of Aurungzib on to the accession of Ranjit Singh the fate of Lahore was singularly unfortunate. As capital of an outlying province, it was naturally the first to suffer from the weakness of the decaying Moghul empire; ruled over by Governors inadequately supported, it became the point d'appui of Sikh insurrections, and, like a second Ariminium, the "iter ad bella" of every invader from the West.[39]

Almost immediately after the death of Aurungzib the Sikhs, who had been kept under during his energetic rule, broke out into insurrection under a leader by name Banda, and at length seriously threatened Lahore. The Emperor Bahadur Shah, the son and successor of Aurungzib, marched to Lahore with a view of crushing the rebellion, but died before he could achieve any decisive success over them. One of the gateways of Lahore, the "Shah Alumi" gateway, [40]was called after his name, and the fact is some testimony to the popularity of this prince, whose tolerancy was a great contrast to the bigotry of his predecessor. It has been said indeed that "had Bahadur Shah, and not Aurungzib, succeeded on the decease of Shahjehan, the family of Timur might have still sat on the throne of Delhi".

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[39] ----quoties Roman fortuna lacessit
Hoc iter est bellis.-- Luc. Phars.

[40] It was formerly called the "Bherwala" gateway.

His death was followed by the usual struggle among the sons; Azim-us-Shan, a younger, but more popular son, endeavoured to seize the throne and oust his elder brother Jehandar. A conflict ensued between the brothers and their respective partizans outside the city walls; Azim-us-Shan was driven from the field, and fled precipitately to the Ravi; which he endeavoured to cross upon an elephant. But the river, being swollen, and rapid from the melting of the snows, swept him away with elephant and all.

But his death was not an avenged. Seven months afterwards Jehandar was prostrate before Farokshir, the son of Azim-us-Shan, who had marched up from Bengal with a large army, and by him sternly put to death.

SUCCESSES OF THE SIKHS

The struggles bewteen Jehandar and Farokshir for the imperial throne and the dissensions and intrigues in the court of the latter encouraged the Sikhs to further excess. They defeated the Governor of Lahore in an pitched battle, and it became necessary for even faineant Farokshir to take some measures for their repression. He appointed Abdul Samad Khan, a Turani nobleman and an officer of known vigour, to the Viceroyship of Lahore. He obtained a brilliant success over the rebels, and took Banda himself prisoner and despatched him to Delhi. Abdul Samad was succeeded in the Viceroyship by his son, Zikariya Khan, under the title of Khan Bahadur, and for twenty-one years the Punjab was peaceful. The weakness of the court Delhi turned the Viceroy into a satrap, who, safe for a time in his fountain-lulled palace at Begampura, viewed with complacency the failing powers of the sick man and the rise of the Marattas.

INVASION OF NADIR SHAH

At length in November A.D. 1738 the citizens of Lahore heard with dismay the approach of a new enemy from the West led by the Turkomanni warrior Nadir Kuli Khan, who from his home by the fountain Margab, in the vale of Azerbaijan, issued forth the conqueror of Khorasan and Meshed, the Lord of Peria, and vanquisher of the house of Timur.

NADIR SHAH AT LAHORE

On the 18th November A.D. 1738 he crossed the Indus, "passed rapidly, without boat or raft, the Jhelum and Chenab, rivers" — writes his Secretary, Mirza Mehdi, — "furious as the ocean or as an arm of a destructive sea", and pushed on for Lahore. A faint show of resistance was made at Wazirabad, and again in the vicinity of Lahore, but to no purpose; and at length the invading army encamped in the gardens of Shalimar. Zikariya Khan, the Viceroy, had no particular affection for the court of Delhi, and was soon convinced that discretion is the better part of valour. He brought twenty lakh rupees and a vast array of elephants and presented them before the throne of the invader, and the result was that Zikariya was confirmed in his Governorship, and Lahore was this time unpillaged.

On the 29th December the troops of Nadir Shah quitted Lahore en route for Delhi. The prostration of the Moghul empire by the ensuing victory of Karnal and sack of Delhi gave fresh courage to the Sikhs, who had been restrained during the vigorous rule of Abdul-Samad and Zikariya Khan; but the latter was now dead, and his son and successor, Yuhiya Khan, was less fortunate. A marauding band of Sikhs had collected at Eminabad, a locality fraught with sacred recollections to their minds; here is the Shrine of Rori Sahib[39] marking the spot where their Guru Nanak, in performance of a vow of penance, knelt down and prayed upon the hard ground. Troops were sent by Yuhiya Khan to disperse them, but the Sikhs, inspired by the religio loci, fell upon the detachment with fury and overpowered it. The news of this disaster exasperated the Viceroy, who dispatched another overwhelming force under the command of Laghpat Rae, which succeeded in defeating the insurgents. A number of prisoners was brought into Lahore and executed on the north-east side of the city, then known as the horse-market; but since the period of Sikh rule by the name "Shahid Ganj", or place of martyrs; and the scene of execution is marked by a shrine erected to the memory of Bhai Taru Singh, the chief martyr, who, though offered pardon if he would consent to have his long hair cut, persistently refused, and died.

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[39] Rori means "hard ground", and the expression Rori Sahib is an instance of a habit characteristic of

Two years from this event a more powerful enemy appeared before the walls of Lahore in the person of Ahmad Shah, the successor of Nadir Shah, who had no sooner established himself on the throne than he marched an army into India. The Viceroyship at Lahore was then a bone of contention between the two sons of Zikariya Khan, Yuhiya and Shah Nawaz Khan, while the Court of Delhi looked on, too weak or too inactive to interfere. To aid his cause, Shah Nawaz encouraged the advance of Ahmad, recollecting that his father had not fared badly at the hands of the Western invaders.

So Ahmad Shah advanced; but his army was small, and Shah Nawaz Khan, having prevailed over his brother, thought better of his treachery. He met the invading forces, was disastrously defeated under the walls of the city, and Ahmad took possession of Lahore.[40]

From this time until the establishment of Ranjit Singh upon the throne Lahore was subject to periodical invasion, pillage and depopulation, and was thus reduced from a mighty city to a little more than a walled township set in a circle of ruinous waste. Quarter after quarter became gradually deserted. The wealthy residents of "Guzar Langar Khan" relinquished their "country seats", and retired for safety within the city walls; the merchants fled in numbers to Amritsar; the artificers were dispersed, — some following the invading armies on their return march to Kabul, others to Hindustan. At length the inhabited portion of the city was confined to the area surrounded by the city wall.

The first invasion of Ahmad, having passed Lahore, met with a check in Sirhind, and the conqueror returned the way he came; Mir Mannu, son of the Delhi Wazir, who had distinguished himself in the battle, was appointed Governor of Lahore.

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40. At the back of the Jama Masjid there is the tomb of one Sabir Shah, who was put to death for advising the people to submit to Ahmad.

SECOND INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH

At the close of A.D. 1748 Ahmad again crossed the Indus, but the invasior. was warded off partly by the bold front assumed by Mir Mannu at the banks of the Chenab and partly by diplomacy.

THIRD INVASION

The following year it was renewed with better success. The invader marched, without opposition, to Lahore, and halted at a short distance from the suburb of Shahdara, where Mir Mannu had entrenched himself. He crossed the river, however, at a ford higher up, and proceeded to invest Lahore, — his own camp being fixed in the vicinity of the Shalimar Gardens. For four months Mir Mannu made a good defence. At length, however, as provisions and forage began to fall short, he imprudently risked a general action. On the morning of the 12th April, 1752 he marched out of his entrenchment and took up a position near the village of Mahmud Buti; a battle ensued which was sustained for some hours with doubtful success on both sides, but at length the tide was turned by a charge of the Durani horse, and Mir Mannu retired into the citadel. [41] The next morning, however, finding further resistance hopeless, he repaired to the tent of the conqueror

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41. The scene of the battle is marked by a large square brick tomb. This, say the neighboring villagers, was erected by the last surviving son of Aziz Beg, a person of distinction in Mir Mannu's army, who with his five other sons fell in the battle. They say that, being unable to recognize the bodies of his father and brothers, to make sure, he collected the bones of all those slain in the place where the fight was thickest, and buried them in a large vault below the tomb. The plain around is still strewn with human bones.

to make his submission, when the following dialogue is said to have taken place:— "How is it", said Ahmad Shah, "that you have not, long ere this, come to do homage to your lord and master!" "Because", replied Mir Mannu, "I had another master to serve". "And why, "rejoined the Shah sarcastically, "did not your master protect you in this hour of need!" "Because," replied the other proudly, "he knew that Mir Mannu would take care of himself." "And supposing," continued the Shah, "you had been victorious!" "I should have put you in an iron cage and sent you prisoner to Delhi," was the reply. "And now that I am victor, what do you expect at my hands!" "If you are a tradesman," said Mir Mannu, "sell me; if an executioner, put me to death; but if you are a prince, be generous." The conqueror, struck with admiration at the dauntless bearing of his youthful adversary, called him the Rustam of India, decorated him with a jewelled sword, and confirmed him in the post of Vicerory of the Punjab.

[42]But Mir Mannu did not long live to enjoy his newly acquired title; he died soon afterwards, leaving an infant son and a widow. The latter succeeded as guardian.

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42. His memory is held in great repute by Mahommedans, but detested by the Sikhs, whom he treated with great severity. He was buried near Shahid Ganj, where the remains of his tomb may still be seen; in the reign of Sher Singh the Sikhs in a moment of religious phrenzy dismantled the building, and dug out the remains of Mir Mannu and scattered them to the winds.

FOURTH INVASION A.D. 1755-6

The widow of Mir Mannu vainly endeavored to keep friends with both Kabul and Delhi; at length, however, her duplicity was discovered, and the Delhi Vizier summarily put an end to her intrigues by having her seized in her own house and carried off a prisoner.[43] This ungallant act afforded the Durani a pretext for a fourth invasion. Lahore was occupied without opposition and placed under the conqueror's son, Prince Timur; but an act of intolerance on his part in defiling the sacred tank at Amritsar roused the fury of the Sikhs, now a rapidly rising sect. Sikh horsemen swarmed round the city walls and assumed so threatening an aspect that Prince Timur thought it prudent to retire, and Lahore for the first time fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Their leader, Jussa Singh, a carpenter, at once assumed the prerogatives of sovereignty, and struck a coin bearing the inscription "Coined by the grace of the Khalsah". Their occupation this time was short-lived. time was short-lived.

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[43] Bikhari Khan, who built the Soneri Masjid, or Golden Mosque, in the city of Lahore, was a favourite of this lady; but, having in an unlucky hour incurred her displeasure, was by her orders surrounded and beaten to death with shoes.

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LAHORE TAKEN BY THE MARATTAS
A.D. 1758

Sooner Sikhs were expelled by a new enemy in the shape of the Marattas, under a chief named Ragoba, whom Adinah Beg Khan, the deputy of Mir Mannu, had invited to his assistance. With their help he was installed on the viceregal throne, but he enjoyed his success a few months; he died leaving a name still held in some respect as that of the last Moghul Governor of Lahore.[44]

A.D. 1759

The success of the Marattas led to a fifth invasion from Ahmad Shah, which resulted in their disastrous overthrow at Panipat in A.D. 1761. One Buland Khan was made chief magistrate Lahore; but the government machinery was powerless, and the Sikhs again assumed a formidable appearance, and besieged his successor, Obeid Khan, in the Fort of Lahore.

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[44] His tomb and garden still remain.

SIXTH INVASION

A sixth descent of the Durani scattered the Sikh forces and inflicted on them a terrible slaughter near Ludianah. He returned via Lahore and left one Kabuli Mul governor, and the country ravaged by Sikh horsemen. The success of the Sikhs in Sirhind led Ahmad Shah to undertake his seventh invasion; but he retired somewhat precipitately without having effected his object. Kabuli Mul was ejected, and the Sikhs again became masters of Lahore.

THE THREE HAKIMS

During thirty years following the final departure of Ahmad Shah the Sikhs were pretty much left to themselves, and increased in wealth and numbers. They gradually divided themselves into independent misls or bands under the command of hereditary chieftains with a common place of meeting at Amritsar, which was to them what the Amphictyonic Council was to the Hellenes or the fountain of Feronia to the tribes of Latium. Lahore meanwhile was portioned out amongst a triumvirate of Sikh chieftains named respectively Gujar Singh, Lena Singh and Sobha Singh, who are spoken of to this day as the "three hakims". The former had his stronghold in a brick fort between Shalimar and Lahore, which still bears his name; Lena Singh in the citadel, and Sobha Singh in the garden of Zebinda Begum, which he turned into a fort now known by the name of Nawakot.

INVASION OF SHAH ZEMAN

At length in A.D. 1797 the spell was again broken. Shah Zeman, the successor of Timur on the throne of Kabul, but known in aftertimes as the blind exile of Ludianah, and the brother of the unfortunate Shah Shujah, made a new attempt to establish a Durrani empire from Kabul to the Ganges. His advance created the loveliest sensation not only in the Punjab, but even in the Council Chamber at Calcutta, Governor-Generals wrote long minutes, augmented the native army and laid the foundation of that chronic state of apprehension which ended only in the expedition to Afghanistan.

In the beginning of the cold season Shah Zeman appeared before Lahore, and the tall sheep-skin cap of then youthful warrior is still recollected as he rode upon a prancing steed on the plain fronting the palace. But his expedition was cut short by bad tidings from home, and he returned after exacting a subsidy of 30 lakhs from the few wealthy merchants who still remained.

RISE OF RANJIT SINGH

The next year it was renewed with no better success; but it is interesting as being the first occasion on which Ranjit Singh, son of Maha Singh, Chief of the Sukherchakiya Misl, came prominently into notice, and made the first step towards obtaining the sovereignty of the Punjab by securing from the retiring Durani emperor a formal grant of the chiefship of Lahore. The history of Lahore is henceforth contained in the history of its great ruler, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the events of whose life are fully detailed in the now familiar pages of Murray, Cunningham, and the "History of the Punjab." from this period therefore it is not proposed to give more than a brief resume of events.

In A.D. 1799 Ranjit Singh became master of Lahore, which was then in possession of Sirdar Chait Singh, the son of the "Triumvir" Lena Singh, after a short struggle in which Ranjit Singh was aided by the treachery of the leading men.

In A.D. 1801 he assumed the title of Sirkar, established a mint, and commenced his career as a sovereign. But the Lahore of which Ranjit Singh was now sovereign was a very different place from the Lahore of the Moghul period. From a mighty city it had sunk to the position of a mere township, and even within its dilapidated walls it was but sparely inhabited; outside was ruin and devastation. The only signs of life were two Sikh forts, built to overawe the country roundabout, and a few scattered hamlets, — one peopled by the descendants of a hardy clan of Belochis who had settled at Lahore in happier times, and another by a few peasants who clung to the site of the old Hindu city. [45] Perhaps the best idea of the contrast between Lahore of the Mogul Emperors and Lahore of the commencement of this century will be afforded by placing in juxta-position the account of the city as given by Abul-Fazl in the reign of Akbar and that given by an European Officer who visited it in A.D. 1809. "Lahore", says Abul-Fazl, "is a very large and populous city. The Fort and Palace are of brick and lime, and when this city was for some time the seat of Government many other capital buildings were erected and gardens laid out in taste and elegance. It became the grand resort of people of all nations, and their manufacturers were brought to the highest pitch of perfection". Through His Majesty's (Akbar's) encouragement "gardeners were brought from Iran and Turan, who cultivated the vine and various kinds of melons. The manufacturers of silk and woollen carpets were introduced, together with that of brocades". In short, "here could be obtained the choicest productions of Iran, Turan and Hindustan".

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45. In the village of Ichhra there is still a watch-tower built in troublous times as lookout against Sikh marauders.

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF AN OFFICER VISITED LAHORE IN A.D. 1809:—

"29th May. I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afforded a melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings and musjids which not fifty years ago raised their tops to the skies, and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and in less than half a century more will be levelled with the ground. In going over these ruins I saw not a human being; all was silence, solitude, and gloom. This city in the days of its glory must have been most splendid".

In A.D. 1802 Ranjit Singh obtained the celebrated gun Zamzamah, a huge piece which Ahmad Shah had used in the battle of Panipat, but had left behind at Lahore as too unwieldy to take back to Kabul. The gun had hitherto been in possession of the most powerful of the misls, the Bhangis of Amritsar, and came to be regarded as the talisman of Sikh Empire. Hence its capture by Ranjit Singh added greatly to his prestige. [46]From this period the tide of success

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[46] The gun was used by Ranjit Singh at the siege of Multan in A.D. 1818, where it is said to have done great execution. From that time it was stationed by the Delhi Gate of the city until the year before last, when it was removed to its present position in front of the Museum. It is still regarded with superstitious reverence as an "incarnation" of Mahadeo, and occasionally its muzzle may be seen with a garland and a lamp— the pious offering of some old Sikh. It

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flowed on apace; Jhung, Kasur, Patankot, Syalkot, Gujerat felt the power of his arms, and the chiefs of Multan, Jalandhar and Kassauli were glad to ward off an attack by timely submission and acknowledgment of Ranjit Singh as lord paramount.

In A.D. 1812 he became possessed of the person of Shah Shujah and of the Koh-i-Noor, effectualy opposed the hitherto irresistible progress of Afghan invaders, and re-occupied the Fort of attock.

In A.D. 1814 he suffered his first reverse in an attempt to conquer Kashmir, but he so far succeeded as to obtain from the Governor a formal recognition of the paramount authority of the Lahore Darbar.

In A.D. 1818 Multan was besieged and taken, and the province annexed to the empire of the Maharaja. In 1819 Kashmir was at length conquered. This was followed by the annexation of the Punjab, and in 1823 by the capture of Peshawar.

Ranjit Singh died in A.D. 1839, lord of the Punjab from the Sulaimanni range to the Sutlej and from Kashmir to beyond Multan, and empire little less in extent than that of Jeipal, having a regular army and three hundred pieces of artillery— in fact his rule may be considered an improved edition of the old Rajput dynasty. This empire he raised by his own personal character, working upon a vigorous social confederation,

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has a long inscription in Persian, a translation of which is given in Part II.

other empires which have been similarly constructed, it was destined to perish mole sua.

Being based upon no national idea, with no leading principle to give it coherence, — for the consolidating system of its founder had destroyed the bond of union which once existed in the yearly Gurumata or assemblage of Sikh chieftains at the Sacred Tank, — without even the prestige of antiquity, the moment the directing power was weakened the fabric of government fell to pieces. The very source of its strength. the fine, well-disciplined army, became the cause of its destruction. Thus, from the period of Ranjit Singh's death to the date of the occupation of the Punjab by the English troops we have the melancholy spectacle of a bold and vigorous nation—

> "In sua victrici
> converssum viscera
> dextra".

As might be expected, it is difficult, as it is useless, to attempt to analyse the motives which influenced the several actors in the political drama which followed the decease of Ranjit Singh; indeed the most remarkable fact is the almost total absence of anything like a political faction. There was, to a certain extent, what may be called a Dogra Party, composed of the Jammu family, who had risen into importance in the later years of the Maharaja, with their adherents, and the Khalsah Party, represented by the Sindawalias, who were related to the family of Ranjit Singh. But neither of these parties dreamt of such a thing as the public good. Personal or family considerations and Zenanah intrigues were the mainspring of their public acts, and their first object was to curry favour with the army.

The successors of Ranjit Singh threw themselves alternately into the hands of the one party or the other as it suited their interests of caprice, and it thereupon became the object of the party out of favour to put their rivals "out of the way". The first act in the drama was the murder of Chiet Singh, a minion of the imbecile Kharak Singh, Ranjit Singh's successor. [47] This was done in pursuance of a concerted design between Nau Nihal Singh, the heir-apparent, and the Jammu Party, but no sooner had the object been attained than Nau Nihal turned against his friends.

Kharak Singh died in 1840; Nau Nihal Singh, who, there is reason to believe, had hastened his father's death by poison, was the same day killed by the fall of a portion of an archway [48] as he was proceeding on foot from witnessing the cremation of his father's remains. The ashes of the father and son rest side by side beneath two small domes to the left of the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh.

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47. The unfortunate was murdered whilst sleeping in the verandah in front of the "Takht", in the Fort, from which the Moghul Emperors administered justice.

48. The archway was close by the tomb of Ranjit Singh, and led through another archway into the Hazuri Bagh; it has been since pulled down. Nau Nihal Singh was a young prince of great vigour and activity, and had been virtually ruler during the last six months of his father's life. He has been called the "Hotspur" of the Punjab.

The death of Nau Nihal Singh was followed by a struggle between the mother of the deceased prince in concert with the Sindawalia Party and Sher Singh, a disowned son of Ranjit Singh, aided by Dhyan Singh, the Jammu prince and favourite of Ranjit Singh. The soi-disant queen-regent, aided, strange to say, by Gulab Singh, the brother of Dhyan Singh, held the fort, and it became necessary for Sher Singh to besiege them. The siege lasted four days, from the 14th to the 18th January, 1841. The main attacks of the besiegers were made in the Hazuri Bagh, where Sher Singh took up his position in the then unfinished marble pavilion [49] in front of the massive gateway of Akbar.

Twelve cannon were directed against the Fort walls, and zamburahs or light guns used in the mountain warfare of Kashmir were mounted on the tops of the minarets of the great mosque of Aurungzib, which overlook the Fort. The bombardment resulted in the submission of the queen and her party and the coronation of Sher Singh.

Sher Singh, in his turn, fell a victim to a coalition between the Sindawalias and the Dogra chiefs. On the 15th September, 1843 he was assassinated by Ajit Singh, the Sindawalia Chief, while inspecting levies at a country seat called Shah Balawal, whose marble lattice window still bears the impress of the bullet which passed through his sionear.[50]

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49. The building still bears the mark of bullets and three pound shot fired from the fort-walls on this occasion.

50. Sher Singh was far inferior in ability to his predecessor, Nau Nihal Singh; the most remarkable

Having succeeded in their attempts, the Sindawalias forthwith turned their hands against their late ally, Raja Dhyan Singh, who was shot down and cut to pieces, within an hour of the death of Sher Singh, at the summit of the ascent into the Fort from the Hazuri Bagh

This led to a second siege of Lahore by Hira Singh, son of Dhyan Singh, aided by the Khalsah army, animated by the prospect of high pay and plunder. The wall was breached; Ajit Singh, the assassin, sprung over the north-east angle of the short, and was cut to pieces in the place where he fell; Lena Singh, already wounded, fell into the hands of the soldiery, and was shot and hacked to death

For a little more than a year Hira Singh was virtual ruler in the name of Dhalip Singh, the son of the Rani Chandan, queen of Ranjit Singh; he fell owing to a personal quarrel with the Rani and unpopularity with the fickle Khalsah army. He fled with his adviser, Pandit Jallah, pursued by Jowahir Singh, the Rani's brother, and troops of Khalsah horse; from Shahdara a close pursuit was kept up for some twelve miles, until the unhappy Pandit fell from his horse from exhaustion and was cut to pieces.[51] Hira Singh continued his flight, and headed his pursuers, but, imprudently stopping at a village to get a draught of water, was surrounded and slain after

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feature in his character was his love of dress, he is said to have invented a very gaudy silk pattern, which still bears his name.

[51] There are different accounts of this affair; but this is the one commonly received.

a desperate resistance. Jowahir Singh, in his turn, became unpopular with the "praetorians" of Lahore, and was deliberately shot on parade. Lal Singh, the paramour of Rani Chandan, then became nominally Wazir, but the Government was really the will of the army at Lahore. Irritation at the defensive preparations made by the English Government, restlessness and desire for plunder led to the invasion of our territories on the 11th December, 1845, the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon, and the occupation of Lahore; and then at length in the words of a local ballad — "sorrow was silenced, and the Sikh empire became a story of the past".[52]

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[52] The above quotation is taken from a spirited ballad current at Lahore descriptive of the invasion of the British territories by the Sikhs and the subsequent battles. The whole is too long for insertion, but the following extracts will show the style of the composition, and a native view of the motives which actuated the Sikhs:-

The queen mother (i.e., the Rani Chandan)
cried out from her inner chamber —

What will become of me?
Ye clamour for high pay, O Khalsah,
But take ye the pay of former days".

The Sikhs said No! and straight took counsel
To destroy Delhi at a blow;
But God careth not for the designs of man,
He heedeth no one!

Then cried the Sikhs — "Make ready your powder
First destroy Firozepur,
Then loot gold and hang long earrings in you rears,
Yea, right big ones!"

So amid the neighing of colts and mares
They commenced their march —
Few patriots, but many plunderers,
Burning for pilage.

ARCHITECTURE, Etc., OF THE SIKH PERIOD

The architecture of the Sikh period is, like their language, substantially Hindu, overlaid with Mahommedan details, blended without taste. Their places are further disfigured by small angular chambers, perched generally on the

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Then said the Juts, —
The huge-thighed, stout-limbed Juts —
"We are the falcons, the Feringhis our quarry,
Bring them to us!"

But when they crossed the ford,
Lo! a mighty host;
Balls fly thick in the air, —
This was the style of warfare.

Then fought the Sikhs and the dark Purbeahs;
The bracelet, the necklace, and the earring
Were blended together in close conflict —
All was confusion.

Then the Sikhs fled to their tents,
But they set up a good watch:
They wrote down the names of the dead,.
And said — "We will fight again!"

"Mark out a boundary, O Khalsah!
Call in the runaways!
Yea, we will fight again!"

Then wrote they to the Raja [Gulab Singh],
"Come thou and command us;
Our honour is not lost;
Lead us, and we conquer".

But the Raja replied with sarcasm—
"Do as you think best;
First conquer Hindustan,
And then, perhaps, I'll come".

highest point of the building to catch the breeze in the hot weather. These have their original in the mud huts of the peasantry, — the abode of the fathers or grandfathers of nearly all the modern Sikh nobility. But Ranjit Singh, unpolished and unlettered as he was, had an idea that architecture was a good thing. Accordingly he stripped the Mahommedan tombs of their marble facings, and sent to adorn the temple at Amritsar. He restored the Shalimar Gardens, which had gone to ruin during the troublous times of Ahmad Shah; but at the same time laid ruthless hands upon the marble pavilions by the central reservoir, and substituted structures of brick and white wash in their stead. He turned the sarai which separated the Fort and palace from the Jama Masjid into a private garden, and placed therein the beautiful baradari, which remains to this day the architectural chef d'aeuvre of his reign. [53]Besides the above a few hideous shibdewalas, the erection of his wives or favourite dancing girls, and a few tasteless additions to the Fort, comprise all the architectural works of the period of Ranjit Singh. One of the latest specimens of Sikh architecture is the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh and of his son and grandson. The building is, as usual, a mongrel design, half Mahommedan and half Hindu, and does not bear close inspection, but the effect at a distance is not unpleasing. A lotus carved in marble set beneath a canopy marks the spot where the ashes of the Lion of Lahore are laid. Around it are nine smaller ones

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53. The building was the joint production of a Mahommedan and a Hindu. The materials were taken from the tomb of Asof Khan, at Shahdara, and that of Zebinda Begum at Nawakot.

in memory of those who were burnt alive upon his funeral pyre.[54]

Such is a brief account of the history of Lahore from the earliest times up to the period of British occupation. Albeit a city which has been the seat of mighty dynasties, and boasts an antiquity little short of that ancient Rome, its history is little more than a chronicle of war upon war, intrigue upon intrigue, crime upon crime; and the most instructive portion of history, — the history of the people, their laws, their customs, and the machinery of their government, — is well-nigh a blank. We know that as in the physical, [55]so in the moral history of the Punjab great changes have been at work. Buddhism, Brahminism, Mahommedanism have successively infused themselves into the mass of the people, but by what steps we know not. The people once renowned for truthfulness have become renowned for perjury and deceit,[56] but the history of this change is hidden from us. But darkness such as this broods over the most interesting periods of the life of almost every nation, and what is here observation of the history of Lahore is only a repetition of the remark of Hallam, as he closes the history of the middle ages, that "we can give a minute description of a tournament or a coronation, but cannot recover the genuine history of mankind".

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[54] The last recorded "suttee" which has taken place at Lahore was the occasion of Dhyan Singh's murder. But in Kashmir an attempt at a suttee was made, as late as in 1857, on the death of Dhyan Singh's brother, Maharaja Gulab Singh; thousands of persons had assembled, and the victims were ready, but the energetic remonstrance of the Civil Commissioner, Captain Urmston, prevented its occurrence.

[55] There is reason to believe that years ago the climate was more humid and the vegetation more rank that at present; even as late as the 16th Century the country between Peshawar and Lahore abounded with rhinoceros.

[56] Not only the Greek Historians, but even Abul-Fazl remarks upon the truthfulness of the inhabitants of India.

THE FUTURE OF LAHORE

Under these circumstances it is pleasure to turn from the barren record of the past and speculate upon the future of Lahore.

Some years yet will have to elapse ere the magic wand of Anglo-Saxon civilization shall have completely charmed into life again the dreary expanse of crumbling ruins which still surround the modern capital of the Punjab.[57] But a good beginning has been made; houses and gardens begin to dot the waste; the once solitary mounds ring with the sound of the Volunteer rifle, or are being utilized as ornamental adjuncts of a Botanical Garden; metalled roads pierce the rugged debris, converging to a point where a handsome Railway terminus worthy of Euston Square or Paddington rises upon a spot till lately marked only by memorials of Mahommedan

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57. To an outsider it seems strange that, after annexation, Amritsar should not have been chosen as our political capital instead of Lahore. At Amritsar there is unlimited room for expansion, and a fertile soil unimpregnated with saltpetre and undisfigured by debris. At Lahore we are cramped up on one side by the river, on the other by a large and almost unculturable waste. Besides, in a commercial point of view, Amritsar is far the more important city of the two; a few silk-weavers and gold wire-drawers, the descendants of those planted here by Akbar, are the only remnants of the once vast manufacturing population of Lahore; all the great mercantile houses are in the former city.

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bigotry and Sikh fanaticism,[58] costly Sarais, with accommodation for the European as well as the Native, have been built. A Canal flows within three miles.

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[58] The Railway Station is in the immediate vicinity of Shahid Ganj and the tomb of Mir Mannu; singular to relate, during the progress of the works a traditionary footstep of "Mahommad" was accidently obliterated.

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antiquarian research, his object will have been attained."

The Compiler's objective, alas, has still not been attained and apart from Kanhayya Lal, S.M. Latif and Nur Ahmad Chisti, no-one has done any worthwhile work on Lahore. As did the Compiler of this tract hope 134 years ago, so do we, then, that someone somewhere will be stimulated into doing further research on Lahore.

Zafar Iqbal Mirza

Price: Rs. 120/=

Ancient Lahore

Few cities have suffered more from desolating hordes and anarchy than Lahore. Eight times did the troops of Ahmad Shah Durani pass through Lahore; Marattas and Sikhs have done their work of destruction, and the buildings, being for the most part build of brick, have perished and are perishing rapidly from mere exposure".

Who founded Lahore? The Hindus say Lav or Loh, the Rama's son. The Muslims say it was founded by Malik Ayaz, "the friend and counsellor of Mahmood of Ghazni." Both claims are reconcilable. The Hindu city of Lahore was a long way away from its Muslim site, somewhere close to where Icchra stands today. There was a tradition among the inhabitants of the [illegible] of Icchra and Mozang to this effect;.... the [illegible] [illegible] of Icchra was Icchra-Lahore....

Iran was taken after just three battles and Egypt and the north coast of Africa in less than 50 years but it took the Muslims more than two centuries to establish a foothold across the Indus.

"Lahore is a very large and populous city. The fort and palace are of brick and lime and when this city was for some time the seat of Government, many other capital buildings were erected and gardens laid out in taste and elegance; it became a grand resort of people of all nations and their manufacturers were brought to the highest pitch of perfection. Through His Majesty's encouragement gardeners were brought from Iran and Turan who cultivated the vine and various kinds of melons. The manufacturers of silk and woollen carpets were introduced, together with that of broacade. Here could be obtained the choicest productions of Iran, Turan and Hindustan."

Abul Fazal

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